1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

whole, but at most the subtribe and usually only the hamlet whose territory is under dispute. 423 619 [648]

If a dispute involving a considerable amount of sago swamp or gardening land arises between the members of two subtribes, all the adult men of each subtribe may eventually become involved. Such a dispute normally arises when someone extracts sago flour or plants a garden near or beyond the territorial boundary of his subtribe. Those of the other subtribe who control the land contiguous to the boundary normally claim trespass, destroy any tools which they may find, seize the produce, and even threaten personal harm. Unless the affair is settled quickly by the withdrawal of one or other of the parties concerned, each may call relatives to his support until the dispute finally becomes the concern of both subtribes. When such a situation arises, the disputed land is normally left unused by both parties until the affair has been settled by an intertribal court meeting.[14] [692]

A man has certain duties with respect to the defense of all lands claimed by the members of his hamlet. These duties apply only when the transgressor of property rights is a member of some other hamlet. Again minor disputes may be settled by the parties concerned, but, if they are not, they are settled by a meeting of the domestic court which a man must attend in order to defend his *brothers*. In a similar way property disputes between members of different lineages in the same hamlet and between families in the same lineage are finally settled by a court meeting attended by the men of the largest group involved. 423 621 692 578 [602] [613]

The rights and duties with respect to land are thus determined by a man's membership in the various groups described above. Since membership in family line, lineage, and hamlet follows patrilineal descent, inheritance may likewise be considered as patrilineal. The Kwoma do not, however, distinguish inheritance of land from descent. Hence the rules which determine to what family line, lineage, and hamlet a 423 611 428

[14] An intertribal court meeting will be described below with reference to payment of wergild after head-hunting raids. [128]

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

423 man belongs govern where he has the right to build his house,
611 plant his garden, and gather sago flour. In order to clarify
428 this principle it is necessary to show the relation between these descent groups and land.

423 Each family line has control of a not too clearly delimited
351 district near the house tamberan of the hamlet on which its
594 male members build their houses. The exact site is decided
613 by the builder with the consent of the other men of the family line. The districts of each family line are clustered with re-
241 spect to their lineage affiliations. The gardening land which
423 immediately surrounds the hamlet is divided into large sec-
613 tions belonging to the various lineages of the hamlet, and
59 each of these is subdivided into districts controlled by the various family lines. Similarly, each lineage controls one or more sections of gardening land in the outlying districts of the subtribe and several sections of the sago swamp. Each of these plots is subdivided into subplots administered by the family line. If a man wishes to plant a garden or extract sago flour, he must choose a site on one of these subplots and must obtain the consent of the other members of his family line.

59 The number of persons in a family line is kept relatively constant through adoption. Those lines who have few or no
[423] sons adopt boys from more numerous family lines. By this
[428] process the relationship between men and land is kept relatively constant in a society where land may be neither bought, sold, nor willed to a particular heir.

885 The responsibility for defending property rights in land,
421 produce, and tools falls more fully on the shoulders of a man
593 during adulthood than during the earlier periods of his life.
602 He not only must defend his own property against theft and trespass, but must assume most of the responsibility for preventing property violations against members of his immediate family and for helping his relatives to defend their rights against outsiders.[18] In order to prevent trespass or theft

[685] [18] Theft and trespass are considered to be aggressive acts by the Kwoma, and sanctions and retaliation with respect to them are discussed in detail below.

619 The land (both mountain and surrounding sago swamp) of the Hongwom
423 people is divided into various large sections which belong to either
631 Wanyi, Haymakwo, or Tug. These sections are not contiguous, and are
614 specifically bounded by marked trees, rocks, streams, etc. These sections
are further divided into subsections owned by brother, real or classificatory.
[428] Land is passed on to son, or brother's son or mother's brother's son.

241 From this land, the people, working in family groups, get a living.
[262] There are two food products which stand far above all others in dietary
[462] importance, sago and yams. Both sexes and the children work in the planting,
cultivation, and harvesting of these crops, but only men can wash the sago
pith and plant the yams. There is no season for this or for any other of the
food products. Yams are planted on the steep side hills, the tops of
trees first being lopped off and burned. The breaking of the ground is done
with a digging stick. Dry taro, coconut, spinach, bananas and recently
222 corn and melons are also cultivated. Beside these food products the leaves
262 of several wildgrowing trees and shrubs, and various berries are eaten.
224 Hunting is quite secondary. Pigs which are the most important of hunted
[796] animals are usually speared only in preparation for a feast, or, if
killed at other times call for a special pig-eating feast.
[223] Cassowarys are also killed by spearing, but to bag one is a rare event.
Smaller birds are very rarely shot with a bow and arrow. Snakes and
[857] lizards are a delicacy supplied by the young boys who either shoot them
222 with a bow and arrow or club them. A large grub which feeds on the sago
palm is a particular delicacy. Neither a man nor his parents may eat the
262 826 yams he has planted or an animal or bird he has killed . It is thought
that the man's blood goes into these food products, and that a man, eating
439 226 231 his own blood will die. Fish are obtained by trade and a few caught. Pigs
and dogs are domesticated.

December 9, 1936.

*115 123 The day before yesterday Owiyap said that he felt sick. We took his temperature--it was 103°. We gave him five grains of quinine and told him to go to bed. This he would not do. He kept rushing about. As usual, [759] he could not keep still. There was no talk of his being "poisoned," and he would not admit that he was very sick. (Contrast with Mar). The next day, he was all-right.

578 *115 There is some talk of a feud between Howel (Sow's child) and Owiyap. Owiyap says that he is going to fight him if he comes around the house and he told us not to be cross with him if he beats Howel up.

January 21, 1937.

583 [736] Owiyap's yeka (paternal aunt), his father's (Siyowa's) younger sister Uka, was cared for by Siyowa after their father died. Uka was married to a man from Duwus who did not have the money to pay for her at once. If he had been able to pay for her, the money would have gone to Siyowa.

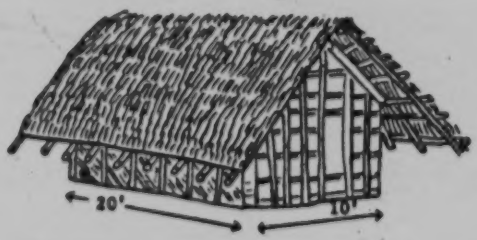
[837] Her husband went to work at Bululo, and there were many who wanted to have intercourse with her. Siyowa would not let them, saying that if her husband returned, he would be ashamed if she had had intercourse with others. Those who desired her were angry at this and sorcerised Siyowa, and he died. [428] Before his death, however, he told Owiyap that when the pay came for Uka, it would go to him. (I think this is a rationalisation of normal inheritance). Since Siyowa's death, Merok had been looking out for Uka.

Chapter V
Field Notes Not Previously Published

House and building construction

342 [428] [423] [372] Houses are not permanent enough to be important in inheritance. If a man dies, the remainder of the family lives in his house until it falls down or begins to leak. The house, however, is considered to be the property of the male children. A house may last ten years, and is abandoned when it falls apart. The available timber is used for other purposes-- firewood, for example.

343 342 The figure below illustrates a house for storing yams and taro (heyakf) but is identical in construction to a dwelling house.



There are two central posts at either end of the outside room. The roof overhangs in either direction. The construction is identical to the room of a dwelling house. The porches are extended from this frame.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 173]

Sago Plots

245, 423 Sago plots are owned either individually or by brothers or other close relatives in undivided shares. These plots are scattered widely without reference to nearness to the sib, except that there is usually one plot [428] at some point near the house in case of a sudden shortage. These plots are inherited patrilineally by the son or older brother's son.

The division of the plots depends on the exigencies of the situation. If two brothers quarrel about the sago in an undivided section, their father or some older man whose decision they respect will divide the [476] plot. On the other hand, if two people are friends or close relatives, and their plots are adjoining, they may combine plots and work them together.

Nar and Owiyap together work about a half dozen plots. Their grandfathers and fathers owned them in common--their grandfathers marked them out.